

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 03288 01 OF 02 150038Z

62

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 008709

O 142210Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 933

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 3288

EXDIS

NOFORN

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EG

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON SADAT'S SPEECH

REF: CAIRO 3286 AND 3287

1. SADAT'S JUST COMPLETED MARATHON SPEECH, PARTLY READ AND PARTLY EXTEMPORANEOUS, WHILE SOMEWHAT DISJOINTED, WAS HARDHITTING. ITS VARIOUS SECTIONS HAD BEEN DRAFTED AND REDRAFTED FOR PAST SEVERAL WEEKS. IT WAS INTENDED TO BE A PRIMER CHARTING GOES NEW DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF ITS LIKELY CONTENT HAD ALREADY APPEARED IN THE PRESS, THERE WERE TWO SURPRISES, AT LEAST TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC. THESE WERE HIS REVELATIONS OF EGYPT'S SEVERE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM AND ATTENDANT CALL FOR AN AUSTERITY PROGRAM AND HIS REQUEST TO THE PEOPLES ASSEMBLY TO PASS A PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ABROGATING THE 1971 EGYPTIAN-SOVIET TREATY.

2. INTERNAL POLITICAL.. DOMESTICALLY ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, SADAT FINALLY ANNOUNCED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THREE POLITICAL FORUMS UNDER THE UMBRELLA (OR IN THE "POT", AS HE CALLED IT) OF THE ASU, WHICH WOULD REPRESENT RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTER, AND WHICH WOULD PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR VARIET POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND COMPETING CANDIDATES. THESE, TOO, HAVE LONG BEEN BRUITED AND REPRESENT A BACKING AWAY FROM AN EARLIER IDEA THAT THREE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 03288 01 OF 02 150038Z

SEPARATE POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD BE ESTABLISHED. THE PRESIDENT,

WHO HAD INITIALLY FAVORED PARTIES, WAS PERSUADED PRIMARILY BY PRIMIN MAMDUH SALEM, TO ACCEPT THE CONSENSUS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO STUDY THE MATTER OF LIBERALIZING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE. HE VIEWS THE NEW TRI-FORUM STRUCTURE AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD EVENTUAL PARTY ORGANIZATION. SADAT AND HIS ADVISERS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THREE SUCH FORUMS IS A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF EGYPT. SADAT SPOKE MUCH OF THE NEED TO "PRACTICE" DEMOCRACY, HENCE, EXPERIENCE WITH THE THREE FORUMS IS LIKELY TO DETERMINE HOW QUICKLY, IF AT ALL, EGYPT MOVES FORWARD TO A PARTY SYSTEM. FOR THE MOMENT, THE FORUMS PROBABLY MEET EGYPT'S POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS.

3. THE PRESIDENCY, SADAT EMPHASIZED, MUST BE OVER AND ABOVE FORUM POLITICS AND BE THE ARBITER OF THE NATION'S POLITICAL PROCESSES. WHILE CONSTANTLY REFERRING TO THE FACT THAT HE, LIKE THE PEOPLES ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, IS LEAVING OFFICE THIS YEAR, NO ONE WAS IN DOUBT THAT HE INTENDS TO STAY ON. PREDICTABLY, THE ARMED FORCES WERE GIVEN SPECIAL KUDOS AND POINTEDLY REMINDED THAT THEY ARE THE GUARDIANS OF THE NATION'S CONSTITUTION AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE. ALLUDING TO UNIDENTIFIED FORCES THAT WERE SEEKING TO FACTIONALIZE THE ARMED FORCES-- SADAT IS AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS BEEN PROBING THIS--THE ARMED FORCES WERE ENJOINED NOT TO INTERFERE IN POLITICS.

4. SADAT'S COMMENTS ON NASSER WERE SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORY. ON THE ONE HAND, HE AGAIN REMINDED HIS HEARERS OF HIS CLOSE PAST FRIENDSHIP WITH NASSER AND INSISTED HE CONSIDERS HIMSELF ACCOUNTABLE FOR WHAT HAPPENED IN THE NASSER ERA. HE ALSO SHARPLY RAPPED THE KNUCKLES OF PROMINENT JOURNALIST WHO HAS OF LATE TARNISHED NASSER'S IMAGE FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. ON THE OTHER, HE DECRIED THE "GRUDGE" LEGACY OF NASSER, ATTRIBUTING TO IT SOME OF EGYPT'S CURRENT LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE. HEIKAL, WHILE NOT MENTIONED BY NAME, WAS UNMISTAKENLY IDENTIFIED AS ONE WHO HAD SOUGHT TO USE HIS POSITION AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF AHRAM TO CAST PRECISELY THE KING OF SELF-DOUBTS WHICH CURRENTLY EXIST.

5. SADAT REITERATED STRONGLY HIS INSISTENCE THAT THE PEOPLES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAIRO 03288 01 OF 02 150038Z

ASSEMBLY AND THE EGYPTIAN PRESS ACT RESPONSIBLY IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS. UNFOUNDED AND MISCHIEVOUS ALLEGATIONS AGAINST PUBLIC FIGURES ARE "UNACCEPTABLE." HE INDICATED HIS "DISGUST" WITH THE AMINS' JOURNALISM AND ANNOUNCED THAT THE PRESS SHOULD BE REORGANIZED UNDER THE EXISTING HIGHER PRESS COUNCIL AND PUT INTO THE HANDS OF THE NEW GENERATION.

6. INTERNAL ECONOMIC: ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, SADAT'S SPEECH WAS

PERHAPS WEAKEST. PROFESSING NOT TO HAVE BEEN TOLD UNTIL THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF PRIMIN SALEM CAME IN TO OFFICE OF THE SEVERITY OF EGYPT'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM, HE STRESSED GOE'S INTENTION, WITH ARAB AND WESTERN CONSORTIUM HELP, TO CORRECT SITUATION. THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS, IS BEING DRAFTED TO SERVE THAT PURPOSE. WHILE EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE GENEROUS FINANCIAL HELP ACCORDED BY THE ARAB STATES DURING HIS RECENT TOUR OF SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF, HE STRESSED THIS WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO DO MORE THAN CARRY EGYPT THROUGH THE PERIOD OF DIFFICULTY. AN "AUSTERITY" PROGRAM WOULD BE NEEDED. HE DID NOT SPELL OUT WHAT THIS MIGHT ENTAIL AND QUICKLY SHIFTED TO ANOTHER SUBJECT.

7. EGYPT-ARAB RELATIONS: SADAT'S COMMENTS ON THE RELATIONS WITH OTHER ARAB STATES WERE SOMEWHAT PERFUNCTORY. WHILE SCOFFING AT "MINORITY" GROUPS IN THE ARAB WORLD (READ THE BA'ATH) HE INSISTED THAT EGYPT'S PRIMARY ROLE IN THE ARAB WORLD CONTINUES TO BE RECOGNIZED BY ALL ARAB NATIONALISTS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 03288 02 OF 02 150054Z

62

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 008771

O 142210Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 934
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 2 CAIRO 3288

EXDIS

NOFORN

ODDLY ENOUGH, LEBANON WAS TOTALLY UNMENTIONED, EXCEPT PERHAPS BY IMPLICATION (IT IS NOT CLEAR) WHEN HE SPOKE OF SOME ARAB STATES INTERFERING IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. BY IMPLICATION RATHER THAN BY SPECIFIC REFERENCE, HE ALSO DENIGRATED PARTIAL UNITY SCHEMES SUCH AS THE SYRIAN-JORDANIAN ARRANGMENTS.

8. EGYPT- US RELATIONS:

HIS REFERENCE TO EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH THE US WAS BRIEF AND CONSISTED OF CONTRASTING THE ALLEGED TOTAL US BIAS TOWARD ISRAEL PRIOR TO 1973 WITH THE MORE BALANCED POLICY WHICH USG HAS FOLLOWED SINCE THAT TIME. WHY SHOULD EGYPT NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH A SHIFT IN US POLICY, HE ASKED, WHEN US HOLDS "99 PERCENT OF THE CARDS". LATTER IS, OF COURSE, A FAVORITE PHRASE OF HIS WHICH HE HAS USED REPEATEDLY IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS IN THE LAST TWO YEARS.

9. EGYPT-SOVIET RELATIONS:

SADAT'S MAJOR VERBAL CUDGELLING WAS DIRECTED AT THE SOVIETS. IN SOMEWHAT BRIEFER FROM THAN HE HAS DONE IN PREVIOUS SPEECHES, HE RECOUNTED SOVIET "PERFIDY" SINCE 1967 AND PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLES ASSEMBLY A VOLUME PURPORTEDLY CONTAINING THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOE AND THE USSR DURING THAT PERIOD. NOTING THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CHARGING HE HAS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 03288 02 OF 02 150054Z

DISTORTED THE FACTS, HE CONTENTED THE DOCUMENTS WILL PROVE WHO HAS DONE THE DISTORTION. HE CONCLUDED HIS BLISTERING ATTACK ON THE SOVIETS WITH A FORMAL REQUEST THAT THE PEOPLES ASSEMBLY RATIFY A PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ABROGATING THE EGYPTIAN-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION OF 1971. (HIS ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH HAD NOT GENERALLY BEEN EXPECTED BY THE PUBLIC, ELICITED ENTHUSIASTIC PEOPLES ASSEMBLY APPLAUSE.)

10. SADAT HAS LONG CONTEMPLATED ABROGATING THE TREATY, BUT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN DISSUADED FROM DOING SO BY HIS PRINCIPAL ADVISERS AND ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION BY THE SAUDIS (PRINCE SULTAN). THE ABROGATION IS SOLELY A SADAT DECISION. UNTIL THE END, FAHMY AT LEAST SOUGHT TO PERSUADE HIM TO POSTPONE SUCH AN ACTION UNTIL A MORE PROPITIOUS TIME AND CONTENTED THAT THERE WERE OTHER, LESS DRASTIC AND POLITICALLY LESS DANTEROUS WAYS "TO FREEZE" THE SOVIETS. SADAT, WHO AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, HAS AN ANTI-SOVIET PHOBIA AND IS CONVINCED THE SOVIETS ARE OUT TO OUST HIM, WOULD HAVE NONE OF IT. HE HAS LONG FELT THAT THE 1971 TREATY WAS IMPOSED ON HIM AS THE PRICE FOR SOVEIT SUPPORT AFTER HIS JAILING OF ALY SABRY AND HAS WANTED TO RID HIMSELF OF IT BEFORE THE END OF HIS PRESENT TERM. HE INSISTED ON TAKING THE STEP, EVEN THOUGH RECOGNIZING THAT IT MIGHT HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. WHILE HE DOUBTS THAT THE SOVEITS WILL SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, HE BELIEVES THEY WILL NOW, DIRECTLY AND/OR THROUGH THE EAST EUROPEANS, SEEK TO CONSTRICT EGYPT'S ECONOMY TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, INCLUDING PERHAPS CUTTING OFF ALL COKING COAL SUPPLIES AND HELWAN IRON AND STEEL FACTORIES AND

PERHAPS REFUSING TO ACCEPT EGYPTIAN COMMODITIES UNMARKETABLE ELSEWHERE. HE IS NEVERTHELESS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS AND MAY BE EXPECTED TO LOOK TO THE US FOR HELP TO ALLEVIATE THIS SITUATION SHOULD IT DEVELOP THE WAY HE BELIEVES IT MIGHT. HE HAS ALREADY ARRANGED FOR JAPANESE TECHNICIANS TO TAKE OVER AT THE HELWAN IRON AND STEEL WORKS IF SOVIETS WITHDRAW THEIRS.

11. HE HAD INITIALLY ALSO INTENDED TO ANNOUNCE THE CANCELLATION OF THE REMAINING SOVIET NAVAL FACILITIES IN ALEXANDRIA, BUT MADE NO MENTION OF THIS IN HIS SPEECH. THIS COULD BE BEACUSE BY THAT TIME IN HIS LONG RECITAL, HE HAD GONE EXTEMPERANEOUS AND COULD NOT READILY FIND HIS NOTES FOR THAT PORTION OF THE SPEECH. IT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAIRO 03288 02 OF 02 150054Z

COULD ALSO MEAN THAT HE WILL DIRECT GAMASY OR ZIKRY TO NOTIFY THE SOVIETS THAT THEIR ALEXANDRIA NAVAL FACILITIES WILL BE CANCELLED IN FOUR OR FIVE MONTHS TIME ("A DECENT PERIOD"). IN ANY EVENT, THE DIE IS NOW CAST WITH THE SOVIETS, AND SADAT AND GOE ARE PREPARED TO BATTEN DOWN THE HATCHES. SADAT'S HISTORIC SPEECH WAS MARKED THROUGHOUT BY TOTAL SELF CONFIDENCE.

12. WE DO NOT HAVE THE TREATY AVAILABLE BEFORE US WHEN WRITING THIS MESSAGE AND WILL WANT TO STUDY WHAT FORMAL ABROGATION PROCEDURES ARE STIPULATED THEREIN. EILTS

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976CAIRO03288
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760096-0816
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760362/aaaaccyq.tel
Line Count: 252
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, NOFORN
Reference: 76 CAIRO 3286
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <31 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON SADAT'S SPEECH
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, EG, US, (SADAT, ANWAR)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006